2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17



he divided those sitting on the east side into seven groups and gave each group a name, informing them that their sisters and mothers would belong to the same group. Since men of all villages were present at the time, clans were taken back to all villages of the tribe.

Of the thirteen clans, nine have become extinct. Bites in Nose was said to be the last to remember the thirteen clans which he would call in turn during the Okipa ceremony. The WaxikEna and Tamisik constitute one moiety and the Prairie Chicken and Speckled Eagle make up the other moiety today. When the last performance of the Okipa ceremony was held after going onto the Reservation, the WaxikEna and Tamisik occupied the west side of the lodge, and the other two clans took the opposite side. At that time Hidatsa fasters participated in the ceremony, and the members of their three-clan moiety sat with the WaxikEna and Tamisik, while the four-clan moiety sat on the opposite side.

The Mandan consider the WaxikEna to be the highest clan, since it held the rights in the Okipa ceremony. The word *waxikEna* means "to tell bad stories about." The word *tamisik* has no meaning, but the people of that clan were said to be stingy and were frequently teased for serving small portions on wooden platters placed before visitors. *Tamixixiks* refers to poor leather used in making harnesses for carrying wood.

According to tradition, when the Mandan were first created by the culture hero, Lone Man, young men married their own sisters until the tribe became numerous, when clans were established to prevent marriage between relatives. The clan names had no sacred significance, and in the cases of the Prairie Chicken and Speckled Eagle there was no prohibition against killing these birds by members of the two clans.

The clans were organized groups and elected a leader who acted in an advisory capacity. He was an older person who had been successful in warfare or in hunting and had shown considerable interest in the members of the clan, particularly the old men and women. There were frequent clan feasts by some member of the clan, at which time they would discuss the success of individual members. When a young man contemplated buying an important ceremonial bundle or performing a ceremony, it

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17



614 421 The clan was the medium for the transfer of property when a family died out without leaving descendants. When an individual died, leaving no relatives, the clan took possession of the property. The lodge was occupied by females of the same clan or could be sold to women of a different clan. It was the duty of the clan to assist a female member in repairing or building her lodge and to put up property for one of its number who was inviting the opposite moiety to assist in building a new lodge. The clan owned certain names which belonged within the clan and were not sold outside the clan.

[424]

614 621 171 The clans extended through all the villages of the tribe and were in part equated with Hidatsa clans. Both tribes had a Prairie Chicken clan; the Mandan WaxikEna was the equivalent of the Hidatsa Maxoxati; the Tamisik was the equivalent of the Hidatsa Metsiroka. The Hidatsa also had a few people of the Speckled Eagle clan who were said to be of Mandan origin.[4]

614 578 It was the duty of the clan to revenge the killing of one of its members. In the event of the murder of one of its number, the murderer would attempt to escape to the Crow, since the Hidatsa would not protect a murderer from the Mandan villages for fear of war between the two tribes.

614 The clan assisted at the death of a son. They prepared the body for the scaffold and sent the spirit away. It was also the duty of the father's clan to bring the skull of one dying away from the village back for disposal. Feasts were given to the members of the father's clan, and help was asked of individual members by those contemplating war expeditions. Men of the father's clan inserted the thongs for a faster. The permanent

4. The Hidatsa give a different account of the origin of this clan. Mrs. Bears Arm, a member of the clan, stated that there was a Mandan woman of the Prairie Chicken clan who was childless. She was a hard worker and had large gardens. One morning when she went to her gardens she noticed that someone had been hoeing the corn. She inquired in the village if someone had been working in her garden and could find none who had been working there. She went out before daylight to see who it was. Several whitetail deer were working in the garden. They ran away when they saw the woman. As they disappeared, she heard one say, "I left my baby there." The baby was a speckled eagle. She took the baby home to rear as her own and wanted the child to belong to the Prairie Chicken clan, but the others would not agree to it, since the child came of a different source. The child grew up and had children who were known as speckled eagles. While living below the Knife River, men of the Awaxawi village married a few girls of that clan and brought them to their own village to live. The group is treated as a lineage of the Hidatsa Prairie Chicken clan.

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17



daughters called the names of old men and women of the opposite moiety who were to receive presents. After the breakdown of the moiety system, the method of naming varied slightly. Formerly, when the father and mother were of different moieties, the name selected was that of a deceased male of distinction who was of the father's moiety, and the presents were given to men and women of the father's moiety. After the breakdown of the moiety system following the smallpox epidemic of 1837, the clan became the exogamous unit. When the father and mother belonged to clans within the same moiety, the name given was that of a distinguished deceased person of the father's clan, but gifts were given to persons of all the clans except the mother's, which was the assisting group.

Within a few days after returning from a successful war expedition, a young man would usually receive an offer of marriage from the parents of some eligible young woman who had not been married before. He could refuse, but few did. An ambitious young man wishing to establish a good reputation both as a war leader and as a person of distinction in the village needed several wives to assist him in the performance of ceremonies and the purchase of important sacred bundles. Those not eligible to inherit important tribal bundles could purchase the right to participate in important ceremonies, or they could pledge to perform the Okipa and, in recognition of their contribution to these tribal rites, received some sacred object associated with the ceremony to carry when on war expeditions. Social recognition of a man's right to be a war leader was given during these ceremonies when some older man of high status in the village announced while receiving goods that the young man would be lucky in "all that he undertook." Without this sanction by the older men, young warriors would have been unwilling to follow him on war expeditions.

The attainment of the rank of war leader marked an important point in a man's training and altered his relations materially with the people of the village. His opinions were solicited relative to problems of village welfare, and he received presents during ceremonial and social occasions in recognition of his position. He was now responsible for those fighting under his leadership and became the teacher of the skills he had acquired under

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17



the prime of life and others who, having been crippled either in warfare, hunting, or other active pursuits, were unable to carry out the work normally performed by men. The older men of the lodge usually made the arrows used by the men of the household, and ten arrows complete with heads and feathers had the value of one unpainted robe. Young men of the lodge paid the older men for the right to learn the techniques of arrowmaking. The Mandan in 1929 remembered two men who had been crippled, one when his leg was broken by a wounded buffalo, the other who had had a femur bone shattered by a bullet and who had spent much of their time preparing arrows which they sold.

Another class of people who were highly regarded were the storytellers. The art of storytelling was highly developed; the stories had a variety of themes and were highly formalized. One paying for the right to have a story told was expected to repeat the story after the informer until it was learned in complete detail. The customary way of buying the story was to have a feast and a supply of tobacco mixed with red willow bark prepared before calling the informer in to relate his stories. The stories were of a semisacred character, and many dealt with the exploits of distinguished persons who had once lived in the village or tribe. It was considered improper to relate sacred myths belonging to others unless the informer was an owner in the particular rites, in which instance the buyer was expected to have enough robes and other goods so that each person having rights in the story would receive pay even when only one of their member was relating the story. The actual storytelling was then held at a later time when the informant could be alone with his pupil.

There was considerable traditional lore not actually associated with any ceremony at the time this study was being made. Informants were of the opinion that these myths once were associated with bundle rites now extinct and that the stories had continued as common property of the tribe. These stories have to do with such mythological characters as Corn Silk, Buffalo, First Creator, and the Snakes. Both men and women were storytellers, and they were highly respected as possessors of important tribal lore. They enjoyed intimate con-

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17



tween bundle lines. Some informants thought that these bundles must have originated in different villages because their older people who were living when the tribe occupied two villages had spoken of ceremonial differences between the villages. They believed that these ceremonial differences went back to mythological times when the ceremonies were first taught to the people.

Mandan tribal sacred bundles had these elements in common: each contained objects representing the characters and incidents of the myth; the rites were dramatizations of the sacred myths; there were prescribed rules of behavior when in the presence of the bundle or while it was open; an incense was always burned while the bundle rites were being performed or when the rites were terminated; there were songs and a sacred myth which belonged to the bundle; each bundle included a buffalo skull; the ritualistic lore was secret, and payment must be made to the bundle-owner for a knowledge of the rites; there were fixed rules of inheritance for the sale and transfer of the bundle; tribal sanction of a bundle transfer was at a public feast to which those owning related bundles were invited; feasts were made to the bundle by nonowners as a social obligation; and bundle-owners on occasion would give Bundle Renewal feasts to their own bundles to which were invited those owning important tribal bundles.

The Mandan recognize four seasons which were associated with the spring, summer, autumn, and winter buffalo. Since informants could not agree on any other division of the year, it is highly unlikely that they recognized any other uniform divisions. The year count was important in relating events. Ceremonies were, in general, evenly divided over the year. Ceremonies for success in warfare or doctoring were held at any time. On the other hand, rites relating to agriculture were begun in late winter when the first water birds appeared and were held throughout the summer until the southern flight of these birds had passed. The Okipa was always held during the warmest months, while the Snow Owl, Red Stick, and White Buffalo Cow ceremonies to bring the winter buffalo herds were always held

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17



secret and were never related publicly. One paying to have the myths related did not receive rights in the ceremony. Instructions in the rites and songs were divulged only to those purchasing the bundle rites.

So far as the writer was able to determine, the ceremonial pattern had been established prior to A.D. 1800 and underwent little change in subsequent years. There was, however, a greater display of goods after the introduction of the horse and the establishment of trading posts.

Matthews wrote: "The work of Prince Maximilian contains the most accurate and extensive information regarding their customs and manners. Notwithstanding the great changes in the tribe since 1834, the majority of his notes might be used without alteration in describing the Mandan of to-day."[1]

The Mandan preserved their rich ceremonialism after the smallpox epidemic of 1837, according to Matthews, who added:

> The square, the medicine-lodge, with its four poles in front, surmounted by sacrificial effigies, and the ark, as they may be seen to-day, seem to be the almost exact counterparts of those which were seen in the old Mandan village at Ft. Clark, in 1832 and 1833, by George Catlin and the Prince of New-Wied, if we are to judge by the drawings they have given us. Within the temple and around the ark, the Mandans still perform the ceremony of the Okeepa, which Catlin so accurately describes. The awful severities of the rite, have however, been somewhat mitigated since his day.[2]

In addition to the sacred myths associated with the bundles, there were numerous stories of a magical character which were bought and sold. A few of these myths were recorded in the field but are omitted from this book, since a number of them have already appeared in print.[3] The most popular of these were: (1) the exploits of Spring Buffalo and Corn Silk; (2) Stiff Robe and the Buffaloes of the Four Seasons; (3) Four Wings; (4) Snake Village and Buffalo Village; (5) Sun as a Gambler and Cannibal; and (6) the Pet Magpie.[4]

The First Creator myths also belong in this category. Since this mythological character had a dual personality, in organizing

1. Washington Matthews, *Grammar and Dictionary of the Language of the Hidatsa* (New York, 1873–74), p. 14.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 10.
3. See Martha Warren Beckwith, *Mandan-Hidatsa Myths and Ceremonies* ("Memoirs of the American Folk-Lore Society," Vol. XXXII [Boston, 1938]).
4. See also the myths recorded below in chap. vii, "Eagle-trapping Ceremony."

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17



mony. In the beginning, the people lived an extremely simple life without tools and weapons. At that time there were no societies and only a few simple rites, one of which was a Buffalo Dance in which one man danced. It is believed that, as time passed, the people acquired skills along many lines; there was a corresponding development of mutual obligations; new societies and ceremonies were adopted which grew in complexity. It is also believed that there was a parallel development of the Okipa ceremony from the simple Buffalo Dance to its complex form as performed until seventy-five years ago, and that the cultural growth of the tribe was divided into four periods which were represented by the four days of the ceremony.

The principal characters in the ceremony were Lone Man (NumakmaxEna), Speckled Eagle (Hoita), Giver of Ceremony (Koni'saka), and the singers.

Lone Man was without question the tribe's most important deity. The original Lone Man belonged to the WaxikEna clan, and a bundle was founded which contained all the articles used by the Lone Man impersonator during the ceremony. Inheritance was through the WaxikEna clan. Before the smallpox epidemics, there were at least two similar and graded bundles in each village, and the men holding rights in the Okipa met to select from their number those who would officiate during the next ceremony.

According to tradition the original Lone Man established the rule that the bundle should belong to the WaxikEna clan. However, before he left the tribe, he desired a white buffalo robe owned by his brother's son. The young man offered to exchange his robe for Lone Man's bundle, and this transaction was made, the bundle and office passing temporarily from the WaxikEna clan. The principal bundle was kept, after the smallpox epidemic of 1837, at Nuptadi Village, and a secondary bundle was kept by the other village group. Women could inherit and buy the bundle but could not officiate in the rites. Beaver's brother owned a bundle originally at Nuptadi Village prior to 1837. When he died, his sister transferred the bundle to her daughters, Shells and Grows First, who were both of the WaxikEna clan. Little Eagle, who had married the two sisters, paid them for the right to officiate in the ceremony. He then

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17



paid Big Turtle, Hoita in the same ceremony, for instructions. Little Eagle, who was of the Speckled Eagle clan, was killed in warfare, and Cuts His Horn (WaxikEna clan) bought the right to officiate from the two sisters, and, not being a close relative, a new bundle was established by Big Turtle and the other men having Okipa rights. He officiated once or twice until there was a male in the main bundle line qualified to officiate. Two Chiefs (Prairie Chicken clan) married the two sisters and assumed the office of Lone Man after paying to receive instructions from Big Turtle and the other officers of the Okipa. White Calf, son of Shells (corn) and Little Eagle, bought the rights in the bundle from his mother and received his instructions from Two Chiefs. He never officiated as Lone Man in the ceremony after acquiring the bundle, since the ceremony was prohibited by the army officer in charge of the Reservation. White Calf was asked who would be the legitimate successor after him, and he gave this explanation:

> I could sell my rights to men of my clan, the WaxikEna, three times while still retaining my original rights. Usually only one or two sales were made. Those sales would be to men who had dreamed of Lone Man. People had a great respect for original bundles which had passed through many hands, so possession of new bundles did not give one much prestige unless he had given many feasts to the bundle, and that was hard to do.
>
> Who would receive my original bundle depended on many things. If my wife who helped me put on the feast when I got the bundle were living and had remarried to one of my clan, her husband would have first chance to take the bundle. If she were not alive, then my brothers would have first chance. If none were living, my sister could take the bundle, and her husband could get instructions from the other Okipa officers before officiating in the ceremony. Then the bundle would pass to her son when he was mature.

Before a bundle was transferred or sold, there was a period of private instruction by either one holding Lone Man rights or one of the other officers of the ceremony. The transfer was made final at a medicine feast attended by all persons holding Okipa rights. Goods and food were accumulated beforehand. Eminent men of the tribe offered their prayers for the giver's success and received some articles for their part in the ceremony. This public feast was a means of notifying the village of the legitimacy of the bundle transfer.

The bundles were identical as to content. They contained the following items:

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17



performed so that the day and night were properly divided. Lone Man directed the re-enactment of the flood, ceremonies at the cedar, and the use of the turtles as drums. The Hoita could not leave the lodge during the ceremony but sat in his place without speaking while the rites were being performed. This was symbolic of the time he sat in Dog Den Butte holding all the animals prisoners.

Eight singers were required; six used the rolled hides or the turtles, three beating toward the "upstream" and three toward the "downstream" direction. The other two singers carried rattles. Singers bought the right to officiate, and a checkup of clan affiliation of singers reveals an absence of clan restrictions. Likewise anyone having Lone Man or Hoita rights could be a singer providing he was not officiating in another capacity. There were usually many with singer rights so that turns were taken.

One man was selected by the other officers to impersonate the blue heron when none owned that right. He sat at the head of the lodge throughout the ceremony without speaking. The ceremonial paraphernalia which he wore were returned to the officers at the close of the ceremony.

The above-mentioned officers formed the nucleus of the ceremony and constituted, together with those who had previously given the ceremony, the Okipa Religious Society. To these men, meeting in council, was intrusted the duty of selecting qualified young men to give the ceremony. It is doubtful that any man could rise to the position of head or second chief who had not at one time given the ceremony. My informants were in agreement that the two highest chiefs would belong to the Okipa Religious Society by virtue, not of being officers of the Okipa, but because they had given the ceremony.

The desire to give the ceremony was the result of a vision experience wherein one had seen buffaloes singing the Okipa songs. The vision recipient would then have a feast prepared in his lodge, to which he invited the Okipa Religious Society. After the feast he would relate his vision experience and ask for an interpretation. Not all men dreaming of the buffalo bulls singing Okipa songs were permitted to give the ceremony. A young man having such a dream would tell his parents of his supernatural

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17



the purchaser. He could receive instructions and rights in a limited number of fundamental rites to trap eagles without going into the entire lore belonging to the ceremony. He could then lead trapping expeditions to established trapping grounds, open the lodge, receive the birds brought in by the trappers, and send the spirits away. He could not, however, dig new pits, make offerings to the holy women, or perform the many other simple rites associated with these expeditions. He would not attract the best trappers on his expeditions, as informants stated that successful trappers preferred to go out with leaders who had special rites for all situations likely to arise.

Some bundle-owners took particular interest in the mythology and rites belonging to eagle-trapping to the extent that supplementary purchases were made. In time, these leaders became authorities on eagle-trapping and received popular recognition comparable to specialists in any other pursuit such as warfare or hunting. Whenever such an owner discovered that another had a sacred song or simple rite used in connection with eagle-trapping, a purchase could be made, regardless of the clan of the seller. In this manner new elements modified or supplemented the original bundle rites.

The rites were further modified by vision instructions. When Bear on the Flat received his bundle from his father, Belly Up, he was instructed not to permit anyone to touch the snake poles. Subsequently, Bear on the Flat received a vision from the snakes in which he was advised to permit his trappers to wipe their hands on the poles as the snakes' portion of the meal.

Every major ceremony, whether Mandan or Hidatsa, had a mythological origin, and, in this respect, eagle-trapping ceremonies occupied major bundle status. In theory, eagle-trapping was first employed by two classes of small bears, the small black bears that had their pits on the east side of the Missouri River and the small brown bears that trapped on the west bank. There were seven mythological eagle-trapping camps at which these small bears were accustomed to meet in autumn to catch the young black-tipped eagles (see Fig. 29).

The brown-bear camps were at: (1) Thunder Butte; (2) Knife River, near the present town of Golden Valley; and (3) Heart River Ravine, near the town of New Salem. The black-bear

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

# *Chapter VIII*

## CATFISH-TRAPPING CEREMONY

THIS ceremony was associated with the eagle-trapping bundle, and both possessed a common mythological origin from Black Wolf. There was no direct reference to the fish trap in the Black Wolf myth, but in theory the sacred snare could catch anything. Crows Heart explained that even a buffalo corral was in reality a large snare, so a man owning a sacred snare was selected to stand on a high hill and by means of motions, as of snaring the buffaloes, pulled the animals by its magical powers into the corral.[1] War leaders took their sacred snares along when looking for enemies for supernatural aid in ensnaring and destroying their foes.

Purchase of catfish- and eagle-trapping rites could be made simultaneously, or the fish-trapping rights could be bought at a later date. Some men bought rights in only one of the ceremonies. A seller possessing rights in both ceremonies could sell each ceremony four times. Associated closely with these two ceremonies were the sweat lodge and the snare rites for doctoring and officiating at the buffalo and antelope pounds.

Although the Missouri River carries considerable sediment, catfish are very abundant. The presence of catfish bones in ancient Mandan and Hidatsa villages indicates that considerable use was made of these fish as food.

When a fish trap was in use, the black-bear hide was kept in the owner's lodge, laid out on calicoes on a four-post standard with its head pointing toward the fireplace. Food was offered to the bundle each day while the fish trap was being used.

Ben Benson remembered these Mandan who had catfish-trapping rights about 1880:

1. Black Tongue (Big Turtle). He was also custodian of the Okipa turtle drums, Hoita in the Okipa, owner of an Eagle-trapping bundle, and a singer in the Corn ceremonies.

1. Refer to my manuscript, "Hidatsa Social and Ceremonial Organization," for an account of the ceremonies associated with the buffalo corral.

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17



226
796
424
778

2. Hits on Back. Owner of an Eagle-trapping bundle, a Holy Woman Robe bundle, and a Bird bundle of Sikaraxa.

3. Iron Eyes. Owner of an Eagle-trapping bundle, a Wolf ceremony bundle, and custodian of an Okipa turtle drum.

4. Old (Black) Bear. Owner of an Eagle-trapping bundle.

5. Little Shield. Owner of an Eagle-trapping bundle, and a Big Bird (Thunderbird) bundle.

6. Big Walker. Owner of an Eagle-trapping bundle.

It will be noted that each of these men also had eagle-trapping rights. In addition to these six bundle-owners, there were a number of men possessing fish-trap rights without securing a bundle. Such rights were acquired by payment of goods to a bundle-owner, who authorized the construction of a trap with instruction that the purchaser address his prayers to the seller's bundle. The following account by Crows Heart illustrates purchase by this method. His maternal grandfather had owned fish-trapping rites which had not been passed on. To receive instruction, his mother's sister directed him to the nearest relative of the opposite moiety.

## CROWS HEART'S NARRATIVE OF FISH-TRAPPING

226
424
425

When I was a young man, I often fished with a line and metal hooks bought at the trading post. I never had very good luck catching fish that way. I only caught small catfish, bullheads, and white shiners which were full of bones. I often went down to the river in the fall when the water was low and helped the old men bail the fish out. They were catching the fish at night. Their fish were large ones, mostly catfish. Many of the very old people, especially the old women whose husbands were dead, came to the traps, and the men would give them fish. This made the old women very happy, and they would sing songs of praise to the old men. When I saw how happy it made them, I decided to trap fish when I grew up and make the old people happy.

One day I asked my "mother" how I could get the right to make a fish trap, and she said, "Go to Old Black Bear;[2] he is the man you must see."

When she said that, I asked, "Must I pay him?"

She replied, "You will have to pay him a horse and some blankets."

When I was nearly thirty years old, I invited Old Black Bear to my earth lodge. My wife prepared a feast of meat, bread, and coffee. I spread out a new robe on the floor, and he sat down on it. I had an overcoat I had paid $30.00 for; I put that over his shoulders. I also gave him a good gun, a fair horse, a redstone pipe, a good butcher knife, and three or four pieces of calico. Then he said, "What's up? What's all this for?"

I replied, "I want you to do me a favor. I want you to give me the right to make a fish trap."

He said, "I will give you the right to make and set out a fish trap. There's not much time today. I will teach you how to make the trap. If you think it

2. Crows Heart's father's moiety.

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17



is too far to come to my place, go to Benson, who lives near you; he will teach you all the songs, for he knows them. He paid me to sing them for him. You do not need to sing the songs each time you set the trap; you can pray to me instead, for I have the right to them."

Old Black Bear taught me how to make the trap. The willows used should be about six feet long. Each pole should be sharpened on the end; the diameter of the pole would be that of a man's little finger. The willows were tied together in four bunches of one hundred poles each, like mats. Traps could be

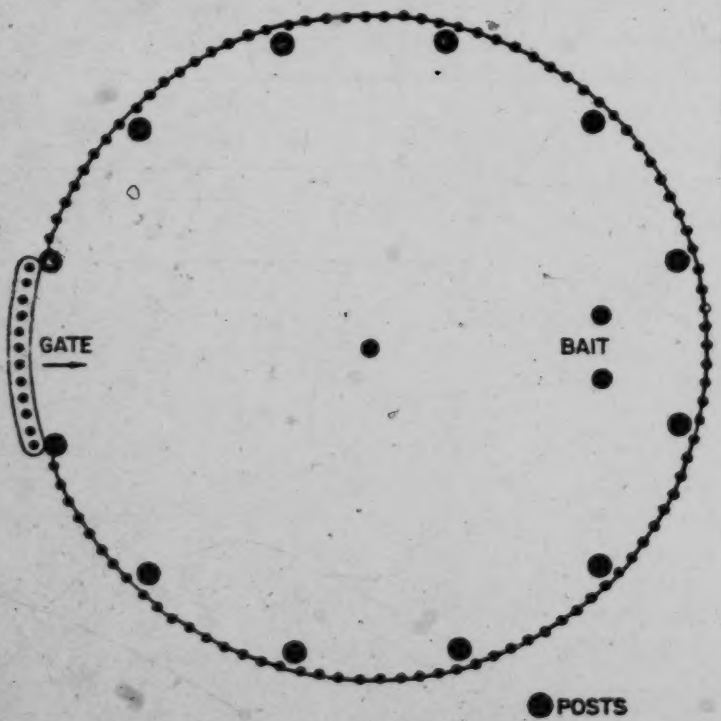


FIG. 37.—Plan of catfish trap

set out in the water or built against a bank. When the trap was set out in the ater, twelve posts were set into the ground. Two on the downstream side were set the length of a man's foot apart, for the door was fastened there. The willows were fastened to the large posts and driven into the ground, making a circular inclosure [see Fig. 37]. Sometimes suitable banks were found to attach the trap onto. When a sharp bank could be found, the side toward the bank was usually left open [see Figs. 38 and 39].

Care must be taken in selecting a place to put the trap into the water. The

3. This was the usual practice when one did not wish to learn all the ritual and become a singer in the ceremony. In cases of purchase, the new owner prayed to the animals, etc., represented in the bundle, as well as to the person from whom the bundle was acquired.

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17



Wolf as payment for his services to these birds in the sacred myth. According to tradition, only those who had purchased the right made arrows. Arrowmaking techniques were taught by certain bundle-owners. It is highly improbable that any living informant at the time this study was made was able to enumerate all bundles with arrowmaking rights. At least the following, which is no doubt only a partial list, had arrowmaking rights: Eagle-trapping; Big Bird; Snow Owl; and Woman Above bundles. All of these bundles were associated with birds of prey.

The belief was that certain men were arrowmakers in early times and that those in need of arrows bought their supply. People without the rights were not allowed to stand around when arrows were being made. Incidentally, pottery-making was also a secret art, and the women bought the rights and knowledge in the techniques of their mothers or clanswomen, using only such designs as they were instructed to make. There was a song to the arrows and another when approaching the thicket where the shafts were secured. The stone tips were believed to have been first secured from the beavers.

The buffalo-calling rites were performed during the winter and were initiated by a young man dreaming of the buffaloes. Woman Living in Dog Den Butte (Buffalo Woman) had said in the myth, "In the future, when any Indian thinks of me, he must make offerings to me and give his wife to the one who is head of this medicine."

The three officers in the ceremony were (1) the bundle-owner and his wives, who sat to the left side near the head of the lodge and were the singers; (2) a woman impersonating Woman Living in Dog Den Butte, who wore a buffalo robe with hair side out and had sage and magpie tail feathers in her hair, her place being at the head of the lodge; and (3) a man impersonating the brothers who lived in Dog Den Butte; he had red marks painted on his skin indicating the kinds of wounds a man could receive in battle, and his place was on the right side of the lodge near the door.

The Okipa lodge was used for the ceremony. After a young man had made the vow, robes and other goods were accumulated for the ceremony. A man received help from his wife, brothers, sisters, clan brothers and sisters, and the people of both his

3:Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
NQ17 Mandan NQ17



The sixth group was that of the "Black-tail Deer" and consisted of men over fifty years of age. There were two women in this band who served food and distributed fresh water during the dances. The men wore a crown of bears' claws.

There were a few other dances which were bought and sold, but which hardly deserve a place in the regular system. One of these was the dance of the "Half Shaven Head Band" which the lowest band could buy before reaching the proper age to buy into the "Soldier Band." Another was the "Old Dog Dance." The "Dog Band" could buy this of the "Buffalo Band" before becoming Buffalos themselves or being able to. The "Hot Dance" was danced at Rouhptare by the youngest band, and also at the Hidatsa village where it was purchased from the Arikara. The dancers danced barefoot over live coals and plunged their hands into boiling water.

The women, too, were divided into bands. There were four of these of which the first was "The Band of the Gun" which consisted of the younger girls. Next was the "River Band." The third band was the "Hay Women" who sang only the scalp dance. The fourth and last band was that of the "Women of the White Cow," most of them were old, and they were all tattooed with black lines from the mouth to the base of the chin.

The marriage customs of the Mandan Indians differed little from those of their neighbors. Polygamy was common, although a large part of the men had but one wife. Descent was probably along the male line, though there may have been remains of an older custom of descent along the female line, for all the horses captured by a young man belonged to his sister. The women worked hard and were sometimes badly treated though not as a general rule. Lewis and Clarke says that infidelity was punishable by death. Maximilian says it was punishable by cutting off the woman's nose. When a man's wife was stolen he had a right to demand a horse from the abductor. Separations occurred among them quite frequently. Virtue among the women was held in high esteem but was rather scarce. There are accounts of a celebration where prizes were given to the virtuous maids — these celebrations also took place

4: Lowie E-5 (1910-1911) 1913
NQ17 Mandan NQ17



## MANDAN MEN'S SOCIETIES.

### The Mandan System.

575 Both from Maximilian's account and the statements of my own informants it appears that the Mandan system of men's societies closely resembled
● 424 that of the Hidatsa. In both cases there was a series of graded organizations, the membership, or rather ownership, of each of which was acquired
432 by collective purchase. The method of buying membership was practically
171 identical, and among the Mandan as well as among the Hidatsa the surrender of the purchasers' wives to the sellers formed a conspicuous feature. Owing to the collective manner of obtaining membership, practically all
[551] tribesmen belonged to some one of the societies. If a boy of a certain age did not yet belong to any organization, he was, according to Water-chief, derided as a "Finger-in-his-eye (istá wátke). After selling their last society the retired members, as among the Hidatsa, were known as "Stinking-ears" (nakóxe xu$^{n}$pé$^{c}$).

573 According to Black-chest and Wounded-face, the institution of "friendly" organizations described for the Hidatsa (p. 229) $\frac{1}{\Lambda}$ also occurs among the Mandan, but this is denied by Painted-up for both men's and women's organizations. Unfortunately this important point must remain undecided.

575 There can be no doubt that within the period known to my informants membership in a society was primarily, on the Hidatsa plan, a matter of purchase, not of age. Because, for example, the group that normally would have purchased the Kit-Fox and Little Dog societies failed to buy either from his own class, Black-chest at 62 considers himself a member of these organizations, which he joined at 20 and 25 respectively.

177 Owing to the very small number of Mandan who survived the epidemic of 1837 and the intimate relations of the survivors with the Hidatsa, the
575 accounts of my Mandan informants may be largely colored by Hidatsa influences, so that Maximilian's data are all the more valuable and will be summarized in the following sections. Of the societies enumerated by my Mandan informants but not given by Maximilian, the Kit-Fox and the Little Dog organizations may be assumed to have been adopted from the Hidatsa in recent times, for both occur in Maximilian's Hidatsa list. In
575 preparing the following comparative table I assume, for reasons already set forth (p. 235), that in Maximilian's day there were distinct Dog and Half-

$\frac{1}{\Lambda}$ [i.e., Members of two age groups separated in time by another age group would aid each other in opposition to the demands of the intermediate group.--Analyst]

4: Lowie E-5 (1910-1911) 1913
NQ17 Mandan NQ17



outdoors, and drums within the lodge, but this contradicts the accounts of others. The rattles were originally made of gourds, but in Wounded-face's time baking-powder cans had been substituted.

The Fox women, according to Wounded-face, were selected by the fathers' wives. Their robes were decorated with honor marks earned by their male associates. Little-crow mentioned only two Fox women, selected by the members themselves, and placed in the middle of the line of march.

The military element was obviously prominent in the society. Water-chief relates that on the first public appearance of the new members, each one was called by name by the older men and women of the village and addressed as follows: "We have numerous enemies, you are the one that must fight and try to be a man. You must not forget this when you are in a fight." Later in the season, when Water-chief had struck a coup and received a wound, his people rejoiced, telling him, "That is what you desired to do, you are a brave man." Little-crow declared that the Kit-Foxes did not dance very frequently,—in fact only when the approach of an enemy was reported. Wounded-face, while stating that dances were occasionally performed solely for the sake of amusement and in order to attract the attention of young women, also said that the Foxes danced very often in times of war, beginning as soon as a scout had brought the news of an enemy's approach. The Foxes tried to be brave in battle. Wounded-face recalls an occasion when a very brave enemy, surrounded by the Mandan, was holding his foemen at bay; finally, a Kit-Fox advanced towards him, struck him, and was killed. On another occasion a Kit-Fox together with four companions, set out on a war party. All five were killed by the enemy. This event was commemorated in song: "Once two enemies went into the bush. We surrounded them. One Kit-Fox went forward, and they killed him there."

The purely social features of the organization were also conspicuous. Public appearances were followed by feasts after the members had returned to their lodge. There were occasional horse parades by the Kit-Foxes, and the nocturnal processions referred to by Black-chest were of frequent occurrence.

## Little Dog Society.

While Black-chest's and Wounded-face's group owned the Fox society, their fathers were Little Dogs (mini'sinik ẟ'xat'e) [1]; that is to say, after

[1] The present meaning of the native term seems to be "colt society," but the older informants consider the above rendering correct in the context given and consider the society related to the Hidatsa Little Dog organization. Maximilian also translates *monize* "dog." A corresponding confusion was encountered in the case of the other Mandan societies named for the dog.

4: Lowie E-5 (1910-1911) 1913
NQ17 Mandan NQ17



surrendering their ownership of the Fox organization, they had acquired possession of the Little Dog society. On one occasion, after the lapse of about five or six years, the Kit-Foxes were meeting at Woman-ghost's house, when someone asked whether they might not buy the Little Dog society then. Each one expressed his willingness to purchase it. Then they gathered together property for an initial gift, and one man carried a pipe to the Little Dogs' lodge. One of the Little Dogs said, "Well, we will meet and debate the matter." The messenger returned. As it was late, the Kit-Foxes waited for the next day to make their first offerings of goods, and merely went about the village, singing at several earth-lodges. On the next day they gathered and notified their friends, the River Women, who collected some property for them. This was piled up together with some guns contributed by the purchasers themselves, and was then divided among them. They waited until nightfall, then they went outside, crying, and marched towards the Little Dogs' lodge. A leader carried the pipe, and, on entering, laid it down before the fireplace. All the property was deposited near the pipe, then the Kit-Foxes took seats near the door, in the space allotted to outsiders. The Little Dogs were seated in the rear and on the sides of the lodge. Iron-eyes, one of the sellers' company, took the pipe towards the fire, lit it, and began to smoke. All the Kit-Foxes then cried, "Hahō'! We are going to have some songs." According to Wounded-face, the prospective buyers said to their fathers: "We have bought the Kit-Fox society of you, but we still have the Dog society to buy from you." Thereupon the fathers took the property and bade their sons prepare a lodge for the next evening. Then the Kit-Foxes went back to their lodge.

The next evening the Kit-Foxes gathered in Two-chiefs' house. They had married since their former purchase, and each one had his wife prepare food and bring it to the meeting place. The Little Dogs approached the lodge, singing on the way. The door of the lodge faced north. The buyers had ranged themselves on the right side (for one entering), with their wives behind them. The sellers sat down on the opposite side, with their wives behind them, and began to sing, using sticks with sleighbells for rattles. "We liked their song better than ours." (Black-chest). Big-thief rose, held up a dried dogskin, laid it toward the fire, faced the fire himself, sat down behind the skin, and thus addressed the group of buyers: "Well, sons, this dog has five claws on each of its front legs, that makes ten. Its hind legs also have ten claws, that makes twenty in all. So we wish you to feast us for twenty nights, then we will let you have our songs." [1]

[1] Wounded-face says that the entertainment lasted only fifteen nights, while Water-chief spoke of a ten nights' feasting of the fathers. When Little-crow, of the group immediately higher than that of the three informants quoted here and in the text, bought the same society, the entertainment lasted eight nights.

6: Wied-Neuwied T-5 (1832-1834) 1843 NQ17 Mandan NQ17



There are other dances,[1] which are bought and sold, among which are a second dance of the third band, and the dance of the half-shorn heads, which the lower class may buy before they are old enough to belong to the third band. 424 535

The medicine feast, the insignia, and the dance belonging to the half-shorn heads, will be described in the sequel. Another dance is that of the old dogs. The band of the dogs can buy it of the buffaloes before they can become buffaloes, or purchase their admission to the fifth band. In the dance of the old dogs they paint themselves white, the hands red and black, and wear a girdle of the skin of the grizzly bear, and a bunch of feathers hanging down at the back of the head.

What is called the hot dance is now danced at Ruhptare, and by the Manitaries, who bought it from the Arikkaras. It is executed by the little dogs, whose name is not known. A large fire is kindled on the occasion, and a quantity of live coals is scattered on the ground, about which the young men dance, quite naked and barefooted. The hands, with the lower part of the arms, and the feet and ankles, are painted red. A kettle, with meat cut in small pieces, is hung over the fire; and when the meat is done they plunge their hands into the boiling water, take out the meat, and eat it, at the risk of scalding themselves. The last comers are the worst off, having to dip their hands the deepest into the boiling water. During the dance they have in their hands their weapons and the schischikué.

There is another dance which will be described in one of the following chapters. The dance is accompanied with the schischikué and drum, and is generally performed in a circle: the dancers carry in their hands the bow-lance,* which is adorned with feathers and bears' entrails.

The Mandan women are divided precisely in the same manner as the men, into four classes, according to their age. The youngest band is called "the band of the gun." They wear in their hair some down feathers of the eagle, and have their peculiar dance. 561

The next class into which they obtain admission by purchase is "the river class." When they dance they wear an eagle's feather, fastened to the fore part of the head with a piece of white ribbon, which projects on the left side, and is entwined round the quill with grass.

The third class consists of the women of the hay, who, when they dance, put on their best clothes, and sing the scalp song.

The fourth and last class is the band of the white cow. They paint one eye with some colour according to their taste, generally sky-blue. On the chin, this class, mostly consisting of aged women, tattoo themselves with black lines; round their heads they wear a broad piece of the skin of a white buffalo cow, something like a hussar's cap, with a tuft of feathers in it. A more

* The bow-lance is a large bow, to one end of which the iron point of a lance is fastened. It serves only for show, and is never used in serious combat. It is very handsomely adorned with eagle's feathers, frequently with red cloth also, and, when completely decorated, is worth from 100 to 250 florins. It descends from father to son, and cannot be obtained except at a high price. Sometimes a horse or more must be given for it.

[1] [i.e., in addition to the dances the purchase of which acquires membership in an age-grade society. See category 561.--Analyst]

6: Wied-Neuwied T-5 (1832-1834) 1843 NQ17 Mandan NQ17



796 act in conformity with their parts, endeavouring to imitate the natural attitudes of the animals they represent. 5. Two men, representing white-headed eagles, are painted of a dark brown colour; the head, neck, fore arm and hands, and the lower part of the legs, are white; they carry a stick in their hands, and their business is to pursue the antelopes. 6. Are two beavers; they wear the robe with the hairy side outwards, have a piece of parchment, resembling a beaver's tail, fastened to their girdle, and are painted brown. 7. Are two birds of prey; their shoulders are blue, the breast yellowish and spotted; they have feathers on their heads, and the feet of birds of prey in their hands. 8. Are two or four bears (mato), wrapped in bears' skins, with the head and claws, which cover their head and their whole body; they generally walk in a stooping attitude about the dancers, and growl like those animals. 9. Two men represent the dried meat, which is cut in small strips. They wear a cap of white hare skin; their body is painted with zig-zag stripes; round the waist they have a girdle of green boughs, and they dance with the others. 10. Forty or fifty Indians of different ages perform the part of antelopes; they are painted red on the back, the rest of the body and limbs are white, the nose and mouth black; they carry small sticks, and run about very swiftly. 11. Two men personate the night; they are naked, painted quite black, with white stars; on their backs they have the setting moon, and on their breast the rising sun; they are not allowed to sit, during the whole day, till the sun has set: they then sit down and must not rise till the next morning. 12. Are one or two wolves; they are painted white, wear a wolf's skin, and pursue the antelopes, which fly before them: if they catch one, the bears come and take it from them and devour it. All these animals imitate the originals to the best of their power. 13. Two prairie wolves; the tops of their heads are painted white, their faces yellowish-brown; they wear dry herbs in their hair, and carry in their hands a stick, painted with reddish-brown stripes, and run in the prairie before the other animals when they leave the village. Almost all these animals are said to have different songs, with words, which the uninitiated do not understand; they sometimes practise these songs for a whole summer, and are frequently obliged to pay a high price for instruction. Originally there were only ten masks at this festival. The white-headed eagles, the beavers, and the prairie wolves, are a modern addition, and no part of the true ancient observances of it. When all these animals come together they fight with each other, and perform all sorts of antics. Every animal acts according to its natural character; the beavers strike with their tails, making a loud clapping noise; the buffaloes roll and wallow in the sand; the bears strike with their paws, &c.

●[424]

796 785 304 During all these masquerade dances, the penitents have remained three entire days in the medicine lodge, where they have fasted and thirsted, sitting perfectly still and quiet. On the afternoon of that day, the persons of the ten masks also meet in the medicine lodge, and all together then leave this place. The penitents lie down on their bellies, in a circle round the ark, at some distance from it; the masks dance among them and over them, to the sound of